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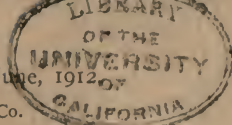


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D. W. Hooper

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II

PATRIOTISM, INSTINCTIVE AND INTELLIGENT

On the Fourth of July, 1911, the number of accidents reported by the Associated Press was 905. This was said to be less than one-half the number occasioned by the patriotic jubilation of the preceding Fourth, and about one-third of the casualties of July Fourth, 1909. The diminishing number of killed and wounded has been widely commented upon as indicating a rapid approach toward a "safe and sane" Independence Day.

But shall we really have a "sane" Fourth when the number of killed and wounded on that day is reduced to zero? That depends upon whether with diminishing casualties we have a growing apprehension of what the Fourth of July really means. The *Chicago Tribune* properly observes that "advocates of a sane celebration are not merely interested in the prevention of dangerous and brutal practises. Restrictive ordinances do that and the effort of the persons interested in a genuine celebration has been to provide a means of demonstrating and teaching real patriotism." We shall never have a sane Fourth until we have a sane patriotism. But what is a sane patriotism?

Patriotism can not be really understood without knowing something of the manner of its development. Primarily it is an identification of the individual with the group to which he belongs—family, tribe, state, or nation. The patriot proudly speaks of "my family," "my tribe," "my state," "my people." This identification is based upon a certain feeling which is the product of group association, and this feeling is instinctive.

Sociology ascribes the origin of patriotism to the family life, the family being the first social group. That this is cor-



rect is indicated by the origin of the word patriotism. It is derived from the Greek word *πατριος*, which means of or belonging to one's father. The Indo-Germanic root of the word is *pa*, from which we have the Latin *pater* and the English words father, paternal, patriarch, patriotism, and many others. Perhaps the root-word itself is but the natural infantile utterance reduplicated in the word papa. At all events the word patriotism has plainly a family origin. The papa, the father, being the providing, protecting, and governing element in the family group, his authority supreme, dignity, protection, and support being personified in him, he was naturally the object of reverence and devotion. Loyalty to the pater, the father, the patriarch, was therefore the earliest form of patriotism.

In the course of social evolution the family enlarged into the clan, the gens, or the tribe. The interests of single families were then more or less submerged in the interests of a group of families of which each was a component element. The chief representative of these larger interests was the head man, the chieftain, including later the council. Loyalty to the father and family exclusively was inconsistent with clan or tribal life. Hence patriotism extended itself to the interests of the larger group and their tribal representatives. There was, so to speak, an expansion of patriotism. This new form was represented in the clannishness of the early Scot, "owning no tie but to his clan," the tribal instincts of the American Indian and other primitive peoples, and the partizanship of the early Greeks and Romans. With the formation of the tribe, patriotism past from fatherism to tribalism.

In the amalgamation of tribes into states and nations the expansion of the feeling now known as patriotism continued. Loyalty to the tribe past over into loyalty to the state or nation, and the feeling of patriotism became what we ordinarily express as love of country, the feeling which incites the individual to identify his interests more or less with those of his country, and to speak and act in a manner which he supposes will illustrate this identification.

Of course, the feeling of patriotism is not confined alone to the personal group of which the individual is a member. It attaches itself also to the natural surroundings of the group. "I love thy rocks and rills, thy woods and templed hills" is the expression of a truly patriotic sentiment. But we may include in our conception of a social group the natural conditions which surround it, and no misunderstanding need arise from defining patriotism as primarily an instinctive group feeling.

Patriotism, then, like all other things in the universe, like the mind and all its manifestations, has had its origin and its development. It originated in association, and association has been the main factor in its growth. Now the fact of the evolution of patriotism, and the manner in which it has taken place are the basis of a safe prophecy with respect to what patriotism is to become, if political and social organization and amalgamation continue. The affiliation and federation of countries will enlarge the feeling of patriotism. The "Parliament of man and federation of the world" would as certainly conduce to cosmopolitanism or political humanism as tribal associations conduced to tribalism, and the consolidation of tribes into states and states into nations conduced to the modern patriotic feeling. Love of country must gradually give place to love of kind.

Altho patriotism expands with the enlarging composition of the group, it does not necessarily sever itself from any point of attachment. The family feeling may still be strong in the tribe, as with the Montagues and Capulets in Rome, for instance; and devotion to the state may be powerful in the citizens of the nation, as was conspicuously shown in the secession of the Southern States of America. So also the cosmopolitan may retain his love of country. He is not necessarily "a traitor," as some seem to suppose. Neither does this larger patriotism imply a lack of family affection with a Mrs. Jellyby's sentimental interest in the inhabitants of Borrioboola-Gha. In pure cosmopolitanism, however, the spirit of national or racial antagonism must necessarily vanish, and loyalty to one country or race as against another country

or race must be controlled and tempered by devotion to humanity. The narrower and selfish interests of the particular country to which the citizen belongs must be held inferior to the interests of mankind. Of course all these interests may coincide, but the world-patriot can not stand with his country "against the world," unless his country is right and "the world" is wrong. True loyalty and humanity can mean only devotion to the principles upon which the well-being of humanity rests. The world patriot must be loyal to right everywhere against wrong anywhere. He must stand for justice to all against injustice to any. When the action or demands of his country conflict with the rights of humanity he must stand for humanity. Hence he may be called by his compatriots unpatriotic, but he is so only as viewed from the interests of the smaller group. The "politicals" of Russia, for instance, are unpatriotic in the eyes of the Russian Bureaucracy, and its supporters. Tho they be faithful to universal principles of liberty and equality, they are unfaithful to the principles of Russian despotism; hence, from a certain Russian standpoint, they are unpatriotic.

George Kennan in the *Outlook* for March 30, 1907, gives an interesting and pathetic account of the attempt of some of these politicals to manifest their devotion to the larger principles of freedom embodied in our own Declaration of Independence. He says: "On the morning of the Fourth of July, 1876, hours before the first daylight cannon announced the beginning of the great celebration in Philadelphia, hundreds of small, rude American flags or strips of red, white, and blue cloth fluttered from the grated windows of the politicals around the whole quadrangle of the great St. Petersburg prison, while the prisoners were faintly hurraing, singing patriotic songs, or exchanging greetings with one another thru the iron pipes which united their cells. The celebration, of course, was soon over. The prison guard, altho they had never heard of the Declaration of Independence and did not understand the significance of this extraordinary demonstration, promptly seized and removed the flags and tri-colored streamers. Some of the prisoners, however, had more ma-



terial of the same kind in reserve, and at intervals thruout the whole day scraps and tatters of red, white, and blue were furtively hung out here and there from cell windows or tied around the bars of the gratings. Late in the evening at a preconcerted hour, the politicals lighted their bits of tallow candles and placed them in their windows, and the celebration ended with a faint but perceptible illumination of the great prison."

This mournful and touching endeavor to celebrate our Fourth of July did not necessarily indicate a greater love of our country than of Russia, but it did imply a devotion to political principles of universal application. We may conceive that the aspiration and ideal of these politicals was merely that these principles should prevail in their own fatherland. They loved not Russia less, but freedom more. They at least approximated a "higher patriotism."

Thus far we have spoken of patriotism as an instinctive feeling or sentiment. Now, it is characteristic of an instinct that it acts without reflection. Tho originally purposive in action, and serving as an agent in individual or group preservation, an instinct takes no consideration of objective circumstances. It is a blind impulse. When the stimulus is provided it operates; and its operation has often led, in the course of biological and social evolution, to the extinction of individuals and of groups. Patriotism, therefore, so far as it is instinctive, is impulsive, blind, unreasoning, and irreflective. It thrills, it hurrahs, it boasts, it fights and dies without calmly considering what it is all about. It resents a fancied insult without stopping to ascertain whether it is real. It flies to the defense of the supposed interests of its group without inquiring whether the interests are worthy or the danger is actual. It is blind patriotism and springs from the emotional side of the mind. It differs in no essential respect from the impulse of the tiger to defend its young, or from that of the wild cattle of the prairie to defend the herd. It is easily aroused and easily "stampeded."

On the other hand, there is a patriotism which may be distinguished from instinctive patriotism by the word intelli-

gent. The emotions are subject to the control of the intellect. It is the function and power of the intellect to inhibit, restrain, sometimes to eliminate, an instinct. Even the instinct of self-preservation, strong as it is, has sometimes been wholly inhibited by a duly informed and reflective mind. The proper intelligence may therefore modify, even reverse, the actions springing from instinctive feeling. Patriotic sentiment may be held subject to a thoro knowledge of political and social conditions and a sense of justice. When so held it becomes intelligent patriotism. Intelligent patriotism, then, is patriotic feeling, instinctive patriotism, under the control and guidance of knowledge and reflection. It is love of country and the disposition to serve it, coupled with a knowledge of how to serve it well. It does not yield to impulse. It looks before and after. It restrains a nation from fighting when there are no real interests at stake.

Now there can be no doubt that the great need of all nations is intelligent patriotism. The modern patriot is too much disposed to act upon impulse. He is "touchy"; he goes off "half-cocked"; he is full of racial prejudice, indulges in national bombast and braggadocio, Chauvinism, Jingoism, and manifests a disposition to whip somebody. His patriotism is chiefly an instinctive patriotism. Such patriotism is a feeling for one's country without the control of intelligence; it is patriotic zeal without patriotic knowledge. Under its promptings the patriotic is sometimes the idiotic. The utterances and actions evoked by it are sometimes illustrative of the fact that a man may be a patriot and still be a fool.

Among the effects of instinctive patriotism is the overweening national egotism manifested by so many "patriots." There is a disease called by the learned megalomania. Its primary symptom is "the delusion of grandeur." So many patriots are megalomaniacs that the disease seems to characterize every nation and every people. It led Israel to regard itself as a "peculiar" people, the favorite of the Almighty. It induced the Greeks to call all other peoples barbarians. The Chinese, according to their own estimate, are "celestials," and both the English and the Americans speak of themselves as

divinely commissioned to spread the blessings of civilization among "inferior" peoples, even if they smother them in the process. All this is national egotism, megalomania. It arises from a more or less irreflective instinctive patriotism.

Obviously great national and social dangers are consequent upon instinctive patriotism. By manifesting itself in antipathy toward another nation, and in irreflective action, it provokes suspicion, jealousy, hatred, and unnecessary war. Washington, in his Farewell address, pointed out some of these dangers. "Antipathy in one nation against another," said he, "disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions; obstinate, evened, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts thru passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim." Instinctive patriotism forced President McKinley into a war with Spain which, with national intelligence and forbearance, might have been avoided. It inspires irresponsible and mischievous remarks and comments concerning other nations, which tend to provoke hostility. The following is a sample: "I would be in favor of annexing Canada right now, if I thought England would fight. But just to take Canada and have no brush with England would be too tame. There are hundreds of young men in this country who would enjoy a war with England, and some of the young veterans of the war would not be slow in going to the front." This is the language of a former general of the American Army as reported by the Associated Press. The correspondent of the *Pittsburg Gazette* of December 15, 1903, when our relations with Colombia were somewhat strained, wrote: "There are a lot of young officers



in Washington who are hoping that the complications between this country and Colombia will result in war. They do not expect it will be much of a war even if there is a conflict between the two forces, but at any rate it will open the way to promotion for some of them, and promotion is the sole ambition of the soldiers." Remarks like these are prompted solely by instinctive patriotism, patriotism unrestrained by social intelligence.

Such patriotism not only leads to national bickering and strife, but it also prevents that national receptiveness so essential to progress. "The national egotism which scorns to learn of neighbors," says Brinton, "prepares the pathway to national ruin. . . . That nation today which is most eager to learn from others, which is furthest from the fatal delusion that all wisdom flows from its own springs will surely be in the van of progress."<sup>1</sup> But instinctive patriotism is not eager to learn from other nations, for the very simple reason that it thinks they have nothing superior to teach. To the instinctive patriot nothing in foreign nations is worthy of emulation or adoption. He speaks without the slightest reverence of "Japs," and "Chinks," and "Dagoes"; of "wild Irishmen," "rat-eating Frenchmen," and "flat-headed Dutchmen." Such a "patriot" may be a gentleman so far as his more intimate personal relationships are concerned, but as a representative of nationality he is often a braggart, a bully, or a fool. His patriotism is irrational and irresponsible, and consequently a danger to his country.

In spite of the dangers of instinctive patriotism, however, it must be recognized that, like other instincts again, it may serve at times a very useful purpose. Indeed, in the absence of social intelligence, it has been absolutely essential to the preservation of social groups. When the life of a nation, for instance, is endangered, its citizens must rise instantly to its defense. There is no time for serious reflection. To deliberate is to be lost. Hence the disposition to spring to arms is an element of national survival; for it leads the citizens to act in concert, and so more effectively. Without

<sup>1</sup> *Basis of social relationships*, New York, 1902, p. 60.



instinctive patriotism, no group in a hostile environment could have survived. On the whole, those groups in which it was highest developed are the ones which have persisted. Instinctive patriotism, then, has unquestionably been an element in social survival, as well as an element in social danger and destruction. But however serviceable this form of patriotism may have been in the past, or however necessary in a critical national exigency, it is not the kind of patriotism which is needed today. It involves governments in needless strife, and it renders the citizens easily susceptible to the pernicious influences of kings, diplomats, and unscrupulous politicians. Hence, it should be supplanted as rapidly as possible by intelligent patriotism.

Intelligent patriotism implies a particular kind of knowledge, a knowledge of national and social relationships, and of the principles of industrial and political well-being. In the endeavor to develop it in the schools, for instance, we may safely rely upon the existence of patriotic feeling and devote attention exclusively to promoting the right kind of intelligence. Saluting the flag, the singing of patriotic songs, Fourth of July celebrations as heretofore conducted, to say nothing of most of the patriotic appeals from pulpit and rostrum, are directed merely to developing instinctive patriotism. The really needed and difficult thing, however, is to inform the instinct so that it will operate, even under trying circumstances, to the real advantage and safety of the nation. Education should be directed not to the development of patriotic feeling, but to imparting the kind of knowledge by which that feeling is restrained and directed. E

The difference between instinctive patriotism and intelligent patriotism, as I have tried to present it, is not, of course, absolute. Feeling is necessary to action, and the two can not be separated. E But the difference between impulsive action and rational action is obvious, and so, I think, must be the distinction I have drawn between instinctive patriotism and intelligent patriotism. Instinctive patriotism is not to be supplanted by intelligent patriotism; it is, rather, to be transformed into it by knowledge. E

With the distinction of the two kinds of patriotism now before us it will be interesting to compare some of the patriotic manifestations in modern political discussion. Instinctive patriotism, with a superficial knowledge of science, justifies war on the ground of the law of the survival of the fittest. Intelligent patriotism analyzes the idea of the fittest, finds that it has no ethical signification, and strives to promote all activities calculated to fit our nation to survive. Instinctive patriotism prates in language which to delicate ears sounds almost blasphemous, of the unpremeditated occurrences in our national life as disclosing the will of Providence. Intelligent patriotism recognizes that safe and permanent progress is the result of human forethought, that the blunders of a nation are no less deplorable and blameworthy than those of an individual, and that unconsidered or ill-considered action on the part of man or nation is quite as likely to disclose the will of the devil as the will of the Lord. Instinctive patriotism melodramatically declares that the flag of our country whenever or wherever, and no matter under what circumstances, it is erected, shall never be hauled down. Intelligent patriotism insists that whenever and wherever the flag is raised in injustice, or as a symbol of oppression and tyranny, the sooner it is hauled down the better; for the intelligent patriot is likely to have a feeling that unless it is lowered by our own hands, the God of Justice will somehow tear it down and make it a mockery and a mournful memory in the minds of men. Instinctive patriotism defiantly proclaims, "My country, right or wrong." Intelligent patriotism says, "My country, when she is right, and when she is wrong, my life to set her right." Instinctive patriotism, nonplused by the arguments of the peace advocates, tries to persuade itself that such advocates are uneducated sentimentalists and mollicoddles. Intelligent patriotism quietly continues to organize its peace leagues, associations, and federations, schools, tribunals, and unions, confident that proper intelligence will make war impossible.

The difference between the two kinds of patriotism is shown in nothing more clearly than the character of the two

national ideals now inculcated. Instinctive patriotism has much to say about our becoming a "world power," the inevitableness of war, and of our rightful influence in the council of nations. Intelligent patriotism knows we have long been a world power, that war is neither inevitable nor necessary, and is not so much interested in our rightful influence as that our influence be exercised in the rightful way. The instinctive patriotic ideal is militant; the intelligent, scientific and industrial.

Is it necessary to inquire which is the higher form of patriotism? Which is the nobler national aspiration, which evinces the loftier patriotism, supremacy in war and the arts of destruction, with hundreds of millions of our wealth locked up in ships, forts, and arsenals, and thousands of men withdrawn from the peaceful pursuits to man these instruments of death, and become a burden on the back of labor, or supremacy in industry, in trade, in science, in art, in literature, and in education, with health, wealth, and happiness for all our people; and, because we have charity for all and malice toward none, enjoying the good-will and friendship of all the world? For which should we strive as a nation, to evoke the fear of the weaker nations by the strength of our armaments (and their hatred also, for hate is the child of fear), or to deserve and compel their respect and admiration by fair dealing, justice, modesty, moderation, courtesy, and charity, and by our sincerity in upholding the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity?

Instinctive patriotism is thrilled by glowing descriptions of America as mighty in battle, or as Mistress of the Seas with hundreds of battleships, those grim leviathans of the deep, plowing the waves of every sea and proudly tossing from their iron manes the ocean foam; or resting unwelcome, it may be, because unbidden, guests in the ports of foreign lands; each bearing witness that in this nation of ours, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, there is a disposition to forsake the principles of the fathers in a lust for power, and to follow in the wake of Babylon and Nineveh, Greece, Rome and



Spain; the nations whose bloody history reveals to him who will but read that the nation that relies upon force must finally become the victim of force. For it is written, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

Intelligent patriotism, on the other hand, is inspired by the ideal of America as a republic supremely powerful by the force of an enlightened public opinion, and supremely glorious on account of her successful pursuit of the arts of peace, and because of her acknowledged leadership in all that liberates and lifts. The prophet of old declared that there shall come a time when swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall learn war no more; and that the earth shall be full of knowledge as the waters cover the sea. When these prophecies are to be fulfilled no one can know—

"Ah, when shall all men's good be each man's rule,  
And universal peace lie like a shaft of light across mankind;  
Or like a lane of beams athwart the sea  
Thru all the circle of the golden year?"

But these prophecies imply a period of continuous peace and general education involving the diffusion of patriotic knowledge. Who can estimate what this will mean to the advancement of the people? It is not given unto men to foretell what this nation is to become; it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but of this we may be sure, that with continuous peace, universal education, and intelligent patriotism, eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the imagination of man to conceive the glorious possibilities of the American Republic.

IRA WOODS HOWERTH

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